*UNITED NATIONS*

# SECURITY COUNCIL
## OFFICIAL RECORDS

*THIRTY-EIGHTH YEAR*

# 2434th MEETING: 17 MAY 1983

*NEW YORK*

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## NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/ . . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council.* The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council.* The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

## 2434th MEETING

**Held in New York on Tuesday, 17 May 1983, at 10.30 a.m.**

*President:* Mr. UMBA di LUTETE (Zaire).

*Present:* The representatives of the following States: China, France, Guyana, Jordan, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Poland, Togo, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe.

**Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2434)**

1. Adoption of the agenda.

2. Letter dated 5 May 1983 from the representative of Nicaragua on the Security Council addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15746).

*The meeting was called to order at 12.25 p.m.*

**Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

**Letter dated 5 May 1983 from the representative of Nicaragua on the Security Council addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15746)**

1. The PRESIDENT: (*interpretation from French*): In accordance with the decisions taken at previous meetings devoted to this item [*2431st to 2433rd meetings*], I invite the representative of Honduras to take a place at the Council table. I also invite the representatives of Algeria, Argentina, Costa Rica, Cuba, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Grenada, Guatemala, the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Laos People's Democratic Republic, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mali, Mauritius, Mexico, Panama, Sao Tome and Principe, Seychelles, Spain, the Syrian Arab Republic and Venezuela to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ortez Colindres (Honduras) took a place at the Council table. Mr. Sahnoun (Algeria), Mr. Muñiz (Argentina), Mr. Zumbado Jiménez (Costa Rica), Mr. Roa Kourí (Cuba), Mr. Rosales-Rivera (El Salvador), Mr. Ibrahim (Ethiopia), Mr. Taylor (Grenada), Mr. Quiñones-Amézquita (Guatemala), Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Vongsaly (Lao People's Democratic Republic), Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Traoré (Mali), Mr. Maudave (Mauritius), Mr. Muñoz Ledo (Mexico), Mr. Ozores Typaldos (Panama), Mr. Cassandra (Sao Tome and Principe), Ms. Gonthier (Seychelles) Mr. de Piniés (Spain), Mr. El-Fattal (Syrian Arab Republic) and Mr. Martini Urdaneta (Venezuela) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.*

2. The PRESIDENT: (*interpretation from French*): I should like to inform the members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Colombia and Viet Nam in which they ask to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Albán Holguín (Colombia) and Mr. Le Kim Chung (Viet Nam) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.*

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received a letter dated 16 May 1983 from the representative of Zimbabwe [*S/15768*] which reads as follows:

> "I have the honour to request that an invitation under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council be extended to Mr. Ahmed Gora Ebrahim, representative of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, to participate in the Council's consideration of the item 'Letter dated 5 May 1983 from the Deputy Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15746)'."

4. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Council decides to grant the request made to it to extend an invitation under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Ahmed Gora Ebrahim.

5. The members of the Council have before them document S/15766, containing the text of a letter dated 13 May from the representative of the German Democratic Republic addressed to the President of the Security Council.

6. The first speaker is the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

7. Mr. RAJAIE-KHORASSANI (Islamic Republic of Iran): At the outset I believe it is very apt and appropri-

ate to remember a colleague who used to be with us in the United Nations and who is no longer with any of his colleagues, either in the United Nations or at home. He was Mr. Tsogtyn Narkhuu, the representative of the Mongolian People's Republic to the United Nations, who passed away last week. May God bless him. We offer our condolences to his family, to his friends, particularly those in his mission who miss him very sadly, and to his Government . Mr. Narkhuu has left us, and of course we shall all be following him sooner or later. We shall be, as he is now, accountable for what we personally did in this world. According to Islamic eschatology, in the hereafter our personal actions and intentions will count. No representative to the United Nations will be able to refer to the instructions of his or her Government on the day of reckoning. Some representatives have of course forgotten that, or probably they do not believe in the hereafter and the day of judgement. The more difficult task of those colleagues of ours is due to that very lack of belief in the hereafter—but that is a different matter and does not really concern us here very much.

8. What does concern the Security Council is the discrepancies between our statements and deliberations in the Council and those in the divine court of justice. There, reference to national interest, for instance, in justification of certain positions is not an excuse; here it is the only excuse. I think it is good for us to remind ourselves and remember that we shall all be accountable for what we do, what we say and the role we play. For recalling this we are indebted to the late Mr. Narkhuu, to whom we all pay a tribute and for whom we ask mercy of God.

9. Let us also remember that many are dying of hunger, from bullets or from diseases, simply because we here and people like us in some of our capitals are not carrying out our duties properly. Let us hope and pray that our common efforts may lead to a just solution of the formidable problems a small country like Nicaragua has been facing for years.

10. Before their revolution the people of Nicaragua were tortured and afflicted by the mean, inhumane, imperialist puppet régime of Somoza, and when, after great sacrifices, they got rid of Somoza, American imperialism provided shelter and means of making mischief for the counter-revolutionary elements. That is why, probably, we are here today in the Council.

11. The actions of the United States were aimed not only against the Nicaraguan revolution but also at a show of teeth to the other Latin American nations so that they would not dream of liberating themselves from the claws of imperialism. However, the attempt to convince the small, impoverished nations of Latin America that they had no right to freedom, political, cultural and economic independence, a health service, education, or the utilization of their natural resources for their own welfare and happiness is a vain effort.

12. At the 2431st meeting, on 9 May, the Council heard the views of the representatives of the United States and its friendly allied country, Honduras. The similarity of the two arguments—two sets of arguments, let us say—and the concordance of the ideas produced by those two speakers demonstrated with exceptional accuracy the ill-omened co-ordination of their countries' foreign policies regarding Nicaragua, as well as their vicious co-operation against Nicaragua in the battlefield.

13. Both speakers objected to Nicaragua's having an army to defend its revolution. What a crime that is. Both speakers were quite unhappy at the fact that the Nicaraguan people were prepared to take up arms and mobilize a militia in defence of their revolution. Both speakers shed crocodile tears over the absence of democracy and religious freedom in Nicaragua. Indeed, both speakers did not even attempt to conceal their open, illegal intervention in the internal affairs of Nicaragua. The United States representative went so far as to admit the existence of a debate—of course, a democratic debate—in the United States over what kind of régime should rule the Nicaraguan people; a debate which affects the nature of the congressional mandate to the President regarding the role of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in Nicaragua. Such blatant confessions in the Council reveal just how seriously the Council is taken and the extent to which the Charter of the United Nations matters to American imperialism. They also show the extent to which the oppressed nations of the world can count on this international body, which itself is a victim of the same oppressive Powers. Yes, the mastermind of imperialism and Honduras both referred to the absence of democracy and religious freedom in Nicaragua. Therefore, democracy must exist in Honduras, where joint manoeuvres by the American and Honduran armies were held—freely and democratically, of course. Democracy must exist also in El Salvador, where American advisers as well as mercenaries can be present to suppress the masses, simply because the masses want to get rid of the sort of democracy which is offered to them under the auspices of American military advisers and assistance.

14. In the past the American Administration used to praise the servile régime of the deceased Shah for maintaining the same brand of democracy in my country under the boots of 40,000 American military advisers. Of course there is no democracy in Nicaragua from the viewpoint of the United States Administration. How can there be democracy in Nicaragua, where the entire population is ready to take up arms in defence of their revolution? If the Nicaraguans had wanted a democracy which would please the United States representative in the United Nations, they would not have overthrown the Somoza régime and its guards.

15. The Council is only pretending to be unnecessarily polite, for all its members know very well that American sputtering about the cause of democracy in other countries is a part of all the problems and is always misrepresented to the Council as a solution. If the Council could only persuade the benevolent humanists of the State Department and the CIA just to stop, for heaven's sake, worrying, in lieu of the people of Nicaragua, about

democracy in that country, the Council would have done a great job.

16. It is also clear why the ability of Nicaraguans to defend their country is a thorn in the flesh of imperialism. Let the imperialists know that they are facing a revolutionary nation and not an American-trained puppet régime or puppet army of defeat.

17. The Council should also remember that next to every revolutionary country American imperialism has satanically managed to station a friendly neighbour zealous to restore "democracy" by overthrowing the people's revolutionary régime. We heard a lot from both speakers about Nicaragua's sources of military hardware, but neither of them bothered to elaborate on the sources from which the Somoza mercenaries and counter-revolutionary elements get their arms.

18. Personally, I was surprised at Her Excellency's boldness when she defended religious freedom in front of Father Miguel d'Escoto Brockmann, the Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua. It reminded me of President Carter's comment on the invalidity of our interpretation of Islam. Of course, there is no religious freedom in Nicaragua, where priests are cabinet members. Religious freedom exists only in El Salvador, where Cardinal Romero and four American nuns were murdered in cold blood.

19. I have no doubt whatsoever that no one in the Council has been convinced by those fallacious arguments of Her Excellency the representative of the United States and His Excellency the representative of Honduras. What the representative of the United States said in the Council basically repeated the allegations contained in President Reagan's address to Congress, plus some trivialities that Her Excellency herself contributed. When President Reagan's arguments have been refuted even by some American lawmakers, I wonder why the Council has not yet taken the necessary measures to extinguish the American fire burning the oppressed people of Nicaragua.

20. The Government and the people of the Islamic Republic of Iran support the revolutionary people of Nicaragua and their courageous struggle against United States-backed acts of aggression by Somoza mercenaries and American lackeys. We consider the Nicaraguan revolution to be a great and praiseworthy socio-political phenomenon which has brought the message of freedom and independence to all the oppressed nations of the area.

21. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

22. Mr. TREIKI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): First of all, Sir, on behalf of the delegation of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, I wish to say how pleased we are to see you presiding over the Council's work this month. I am especially pleased in view of the brotherly relations established with you in the course of our common work for the cause of the African continent, its liberation and its unity. I am convinced that as an African militant you understand completely the meaning of freedom and appreciate the sacrifices of peoples, and that the Council will have ample opportunity under your presidency to achieve successful results.

23. For weeks now the Council has been meeting to discuss the aggression and provocation against the Republic of Nicaragua and its people. As I have said before on this subject, this aggression against the people is not the first and will not be the last.

24. We are meeting here again today because of the escalation of imperialist provocation and American intervention against Nicaragua, its people and its revolution. We could repeat nearly everything that has been said at previous meetings—or at least part of it—by the dozens of States which participated in the debate, the majority of which are victims of American imperialism in the same way as the people of Nicaragua. These States are bitter about this injustice, and they feel that what is happening in Nicaragua is exactly the same as what happened to them. My country, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, is one of the States that have been victims of the aggression and provocation of that same American imperialism and that continue to be their victims and the target of the provocations of that imperialism, which is the enemy of the peoples.

25. I hesitated a long time before asking to speak, but this matter is quite clear, because the aggressor itself recognizes its aggression. The matter does not need to be defended; it needs to be judged, and only to be judged. The aggressor admits openly that it is intervening in Nicaragua and is sending arms and mercenaries there. That is why the cause does not need to be defended but requires only, as I have said, a verdict. I have said from the outset that there is a witness from the same camp here. The best course would be to read to the Council, as a simple reminder, the reply of Senator Christopher Dodd to the United States President on 27 April. That reply is clear testimony which does away with the need for any other proof in order to denounce the policy of the American Administration.

26. That Administration defends "freedom fighters". That is a new concept of which we are hearing for the first time. It is also the first time that we have heard the United States Government speak of freedom and "those who love freedom". The mercenaries and the Somoza gang and its successors are now described as people in search of freedom. The Palestinians, however, are terrorists, with whom discussions cannot be held and who should not have a homeland. Furthermore, after what Mrs. Kirkpatrick said in a speech entitled "The Russian Jews", many Russian Jews are destined to take the place of Palestinian terrorists, who do not deserve to live.

27. The black inhabitants of South Africa are also terrorists, according to the concept and logic of the Ameri-

cans, but there are "those who seek freedom" in Nicaragua. The revolutionaries of El Salvador are mercenaries and the revolutionaries of other Latin American regions are also mercenaries, but the Somoza gang alone are freedom-seekers.

28. That is the American concept of democracy. Democracy means that the people of Nicaragua should surrender and return Somoza and the multinational monopolies, because nobody in the world has the right to say "No" to the United States, for it is God. It is a pity that the present leaders of the American Administration are drawn from the generation before the Second World War, the generation of what was called "American isolationism". They consider that the United States is the world and that all other peoples must say "Yes" and pay a ransom, a tax. If they do not, they are considered to be rebels, not democrats, and, as the representative of Iran said, terrorists who do not recognize religious freedom.

29. The logic of American democracy is very strange. Why was there a revolution in Nicaragua? Why is there now a revolution in El Salvador? Mr. Dodd is a witness, and he has said that in Latin America, "In country after country, dictatorship or military dominance has stifled democracy and destroyed human rights." If Central America were not racked with poverty, there would be no revolution. If it were not racked with hunger, there would be no revolution. That is the truth of the matter.

30. The Monroe Doctrine, the "Truman doctrine", the "Reagan doctrine", and now the "Kirkpatrick doctrine", must all be respected by the world, and all the peoples of Latin America must submit to and accept Yankee imperialism, and say "Yes", not "No".

31. Today Nicaragua is a victim of this aggression, as were earlier Iran, Viet Nam, Angola, Libya and many other peoples, including peoples of Latin America and Central America. Before Nicaragua there was intervention in the Dominican Republic, an incursion there. There was the assassination of President Lumumba and President Allende. That is United States democracy. That is the Reagan, Kirkpatrick and Truman doctrine.

32. We must now shoulder our responsibilities. It is our duty to be the judges and to say "No" to the aggressor. If we do not, a dangerous precedent will be set of allowing the United States to continue to suppress the sovereignty of peoples, to terrorize them and to terrorize all the progressive régimes in Latin America and throughout the world.

33. Some people talk about a conflict between East and West. What is that conflict? Nicaragua is helped by the Soviet Union to build a factory or to build a fishing port. Is there a conflict there? Is that not the right of Nicaragua? In reality, there is no conflict between East and West, but only a conflict between the people of Nicaragua and American imperialism. The Soviet Union is a friend of Nicaragua, but it has no right, any more than Libya or even Cuba has, to help the people of Nicaragua, for such assistance would be considered an intervention. Then there is the question of the military advisers: Nicaragua must get rid of all the doctors from Cuba or any other country and leave the Nicaraguan people without medical care because of the military advisers. As for the thousands of American military advisers in El Salvador, who are killing people in that country every day, that is permissible, logical, reasonable and acceptable because it is in accordance with United States democracy, human rights and the Reagan and Kirkpatrick "doctrines". United States imperialism deploys its missiles on the borders of the Soviet Union, and in the Mediterranean its fleets continue to threaten our shores, and that is considered acceptable. But if a Latin American State asks a neighbouring or friendly State for help, that is unacceptable; it is interference in an international conflict.

34. I think that I heard some colleagues speaking here about the East-West conflict. There is no East-West conflict in this region. The conflict is between imperialism and the peoples of the world. I am not here to defend the Soviet Union, but, while it is a natural ally of the peoples against United States imperialism, it is not participating in any conflict in the region. The only conflict is with us, the small, poor and vanquished peoples who have suffered from colonialism and we wish to free ourselves and build up our countries. But we are always confronted with American imperialism, which casts its veto on this construction and development. There you have the conflict between us and American imperialism.

35. By what right and by what logic does the United States Government arrogate to itself the right to impose its trusteeship on the Latin American peoples? It speaks of the hemisphere, of the region, the Monroe Doctrine, as if the whole of Latin America were a United States colony. by what right does the United States speak of human rights when it is seeking to exterminate the entire Palestinian people? By what right does the United States speak of democracy when it practices terrorism and imposes fascist military dictatorships in many regions, *inter alia* in Central America and Latin America? What kind of democracy is this? Does the United States practise democracy in its own country while refusing to allow it to be practised in other countries? Furthermore, there is no real democracy in the United States itself. What exists there is the democracy of United States companies, the democracy of monopolies, the democracy of the whites, a phoney democracy.

36. The United States continues to carry out military aggression and attacks which must be condemned, and a stop should be put to United States interference in the internal affairs of Latin America and the Caribbean.

37. Grenada, a very small country with some 200,000 inhabitants, wishes to construct an airport; that is a major crime. President Reagan himself has spoken of the danger in the construction of an airport in Grenada, and yet Grenada—in terms of population—is smaller than the World Trade Center. Is Grenada's construction of an airport so dangerous for American imperialism, and

does Grenada have to stop construction because it constitutes a danger for United States security and safety?

38. By what logic or right can the President of the greatest Power in the world speak in this manner? Who are the freedom fighters in Nicaragua and who are the people supported by the United States? A new concept would have to be invented to designate the freedom-seekers according to American criteria. The Palestinians are terrorists, the blacks in South Africa are terrorists, the Libyans also are terrorists, the Soviet Union consists of dictatorships. The whole world practises dictatorship. The heroic people of Viet Nam practises dictatorship because all these people have said "No" to the United States. They are therefore agents of terrorism, agents of the Soviet Union, as the United States claims.

39. We would like relations in Central America and Latin America to be the same as those existing between Libya and the Soviet Union. These are friendly relations and not relations of hegemony, relations that are imposed. the Soviet Union has never imposed itself and we will never allow it to impose itself by force. But there is a moral and political terrorism being carried out against the Central American peoples. An economic blockade against Nicaragua, starvation of its people, the colonial policy of "divide and rule", rousing the peoples and Governments of Honduras, Guatemala and El Salvador against Nicaragua—such is the aim of United States policy, and such is the United States view of things.

40. The United States is playing the role of policeman, although it is an outlaw in the eyes of the world; this should stop. The United States should be told that, however strong it may be, the rights of the peoples are stronger, the will of the peoples is invincible. The policy of sowing dissension and practising genocide, the policy of encouraging the aggression in Palestine and South Africa and the fascist régimes cannot continue.

41. As was clearly stated by Mr. Dodd himself, the United States is paying one billion dollars—or almost $140,000 in tax dollars for each revolutionary—in order to counter 7,000 revolutionaries in El Salvador, to establish democracy there. You have seen, as I have, the report submitted to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the United States Congress, which states that democracy has made progress in El Salvador: the number of dead had been reduced from 200 to 150. That is improvement, that is big progress in democracy. The number is smaller, but it appears that last week democracy had progressed still further, as the number of dead was more than 300. In the view of the United States, democracy had progressed further in El Salvador!

42. Mr. Dodd clearly stated that

> "American dollars alone cannot buy military victory—that is the lesson of the painful past and of this newest conflict in Central America. If we continue down that road, if we continue to ally ourselves with repression, we will... find ourselves once again on the losing side."

That is the real opinion of the American people concerning the intervention by the United States Government in Nicaragua and in Central America.

43. Speaking of "freedom fighters", as President Reagan called them, Mr. Dodd said:

> "The insurgents we have supported are the remnants of the old Somoza régime—a régime whose corruption, graft, torture and despotism made it universally despised in Nicaragua. The Sandinistas may not be winners, but right now we are backing sure losers."

That is the true opinion of the American people.

44. The United States and its present Administration should finally understand that what they are doing is not in the interest of the United States or of the peoples. Nor is it in the interest of history or of the past of the American people, which defended its liberty in its time. In the last analysis there will only be defeat. It seems that the memory of the United States Administration is so short that it has forgotten the Viet Nam defeat of only a few years ago. The peoples of Nicaragua and Central America in general are following the example of the valiant people of Viet Nam.

45. At the end of his statement, Senator Dodd said:

> "We can take the road of military escalation. But... what we really don't know [is]... where it will lead or how much it will cost.
>
> "This much, however, we do know. It will mean greater violence. It will mean greater bloodshed. It will mean greater hostilities. And, inevitably, the day will come when it will mean a regional conflict in Central America."

That is the true opinion of the people of the United States regarding the actions of the United States Administration.

46. We must state our own opinion. We must denounce imperialist American intervention and assist the people of Nicaragua, because what has happened in Nicaragua and Libya and in other regions will take place in yet other regions and affect everybody. We do not say this out of hatred of a desire for revenge, for we all desire better relations with the American people. We have no interest in maintaining bad relations with the United States, but we refuse to be slaves, because we are free. We have sacrificed a great deal for that freedom. The people of Nicaragua, too, have sacrificed a great deal to be free. That is why we must safeguard that freedom.

47. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The last speaker for this morning's meeting is the representa-

tive of Panama. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

48. Mr. OZORES TYPALDOS (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like first of all, Sir, to express the congratulations of my delegation on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of May.

49. This important United Nations organ is meeting once again at the request of the Government of Nicaragua to consider the serious situation in the area, which could endanger peace and security in the region unless practical measures are taken as a matter of urgency, in good faith and with the necessary will. These are the essential ingredients if satisfactory, desirable and lasting results are to be achieved.

50. Panama, which, in the honourable company of Colombia, Mexico and Venezuela, is a member of the body known as the Contadora Group, shares the justifiable concern of an increasing number of countries at the difficult problems besetting our brothers in the area. There is a convergence of views among those who desire to see a negotiated political solution—the only viable form of settlement—without foreign interference of any kind, so that peace may be achieved by the Central Americans for the benefit of all. In this regard, the Contadora efforts must be regarded as a way of achieving conciliation.

51. We regard it most important to refer—as has the representative of Mexico [*2432nd meeting*]—to certain paragraphs of the joint declaration made recently by the Presidents of Brazil and Mexico regarding the situation in Central America. The two Presidents

> "considered it urgent that effective negotiations be conducted between the parties involved in the crises and urged them to refrain from any actions that might further worsen the situation. Furthermore, they recognized that a permanent solution would be possible only in the absence of foreign interference."

They also agreed that

> "The Central American crisis derives from the economic and social structures that prevail in the region and, therefore, efforts to resolve it should be aimed at avoiding the tendency to describe it as a chapter in the East-West confrontation."

52. We wished to quote those paragraphs because they demonstrate perfectly the spirit which must prevail, as was made clear by the Foreign Ministers of the Contadora Group in their information bulletin issued in January:

> "In expressing their deep concern about direct or indirect foreign interference in the conflicts of Central America and noting that it is most undesirable that those conflicts should be included in the context of East-West confrontation, they agreed on the need to eliminate the external factors intensifying those conflicts.
>
> "They made an urgent appeal to all countries of the Central American area to engage in dialogue and negotiation so as to reduce tension and lay the foundations for a permanent atmosphere of peaceful coexistence and mutual respect among States."[1]

53. Little more than three months after the establishment of the Contadora Group, the situation in the Central American area seriously deteriorated, which is why the Group's members decided to make joint visits to Costa Rica, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala on 12 and 13 April, at the invitation of the Governments of those countries.

54. As a result of that trip, the Foreign Ministers said that among the matters which require the most attention the following should be mentioned:

> "the arms race, arms control and reduction, the transfer of armaments, the presence of military advisers and other forms of outside military assistance, actions aimed at destabilizing the internal order of other countries, threats and verbal aggression, warlike incidents and frontier tensions, the violation of human rights and individual and social guarantees, and the grave economic and social problems which are at the heart of the region's present crisis" [*see S/15727, annex*].

On another highly important subject,

> "It was agreed that rigid and inflexible approaches which might obstruct the common purpose of bringing about détente and promoting peaceful coexistence must be avoided. To that end, agreement in principle was reached concerning the procedures of consultation and negotiation to be followed in the near future in such a way as to adapt them to the diverse nature of the subjects, irrespective of whether the latter are regional or bilateral in scope." [*Ibid.*]

55. Last week the Foreign Ministers of the Contadora Group held an urgent meeting at Panama City to consider urgently, among other things, the request of the Government of Costa Rica—which, it should be noted, had already been agreed upon by Costa Rica and Nicaragua—and the course of the debate then going on in the Security Council. At that meeting, the four Foreign Ministers noted

> "with deep concern the development of the Central American conflict over the past few days and the repeated violation of essential principles of the international legal order.
>
> "These circumstances have given rise to various initiatives aimed at seeking the intervention of multilateral organizations." [*See S/15762, annex.*]

56. We are taking part in this debate on the basis of two paragraphs of the most recent information bulletin of the Contadora Group [*ibid.*], which state that

> "It would be highly desirable that in the deliberations taking place in the aforementioned forums, and especially those currently under way in the Security Council, there should be a strengthening of principles which should guide the activities of States in the international arena.
>
> "These principles include: self-determination and non-interference in the affairs of other States, respect for the territorial integrity of other States, the obligation not to allow the territory of a State to be used for committing acts of aggression against other States, the peaceful settlement of disputes and the prohibition of the threat or use of force to resolve conflicts."

57. We believe that the Security Council has sufficient grounds for taking a decision on the problem under discussion; the seriousness of the situation certainly calls for one. We must be aware that peace in Central America, as in any other part of the world, can be achieved only through dialogue and political negotiations among all the parties involved.

*The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.*

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NOTE

[1] See A/38/68, annex, p. 2.

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